

Nimuendajá: The Eastern Timbira

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511 ments of the Krikati and Pukóbye were of the same order; of these, Canto da Aldea
 361 had eight huts, São Felix thirteen, and Recurso eleven. These dwellings were either
 342 quite open or had a single wall in the rear, whose palm leaves were attached in
 vertical position, with the points downward. This mode of attachment is character-
 istic of the aboriginal Eastern Timbira, the method now customary among the
 [177] Rãmkô'kamekra (p. 40), having been adopted from the Neobrazilians according
 to the Indians' own statements. The smallest and poorest huts I have seen are those
 in Recurso.

352 The Kre'pu'mkataye settlement of Gamelleira do Rumo is situated in the woods,
 513 on the steep left bank, 50 m. in height, of the Rio Grajahú. It comprises eight rather
 small huts, most of them having walls of clay-daubed latticework; they surround
 an approximately round plaza of barely 50 m. in diameter.

Sleeping and sitting accommodations.—The principal article of furniture is the
 platform bed (pá'ra), a grid of closely laid burity leaf stalks resting on four forked
 posts with two crossbeams. Its ordinary elevation above the floor is about 50 cm.,
 the length from 170 to 200 cm., and the width varies according to the number of
 occupants—from half a meter for a single person to 3 m. for a sizable family. If the
 house has a closed space, the beds—one for each individual family—are always
 indoors. A young girl generally constructs her platform bed below the roof at a
 height of 2 m., and surrounds it with a partition of mats; for a ladder she uses a
 [417] notched log or simply a pole tied in slanting position. The boys and young men as
 a rule sleep in the plaza outdoors, but several of them may sleep on a platform bed
 indoors. This is, however, merely a makeshift in case of rain.

285 A larger or smaller number of mats lie on the bed, which when properly made
 513 has a bottom layer of one or two mats of babassu or anajá grass (kupíp) to level
 531 the unevenness of the surface, with mats of burity bast (ka'ty') above. The former
 are long, but relatively narrow and always in a two-step twilling technique; the
 latter of any desired width (up to 120 cm.), but at most 1 m. in length, to which
 must be added a 30 to 40 cm. fringe. Some of the Indians make burity mats de luxe
 by plaiting into the fabric ornamental horizontal or vertical stripes or squares and
 painting them with yellow dots, strokes, and zigzags, the pigment being derived
 from the root of the urucú shrub. The burity mats do service as a covering, but
 the feet remain bare, being always kept warm at night by a fire maintained at the
 foot of the bed.

352 However, the mat-covered platform beds also serve as benches and tables; in-
 deed, a large part of domestic life is spent on them. Many take their meals there,
 356 some permit pet dogs to find a resting place on the bed. In consequence the mats
 285 are usually greasy and brownish-red from urucú and dirt. When they have turned
 filthy, they are washed in a stream with the leaves of a shrub that yield a soaplike
 lather. On the other hand, the anajá and babassu grass mats, which can be quickly
 manufactured, are never washed, but simply superseded by new ones.

513 On fine nights many families are accustomed to sleep for several hours on mats
 on the ground directly in front of their houses. After sunset the people like to sit
 on mats outdoors and thus simply remain lying there, falling asleep, even without
 a fire, until the chill of the morning drives them inside.

352 Indoors the Canella mostly seat themselves on the bed or, if it should be present,
 on a hammock. However, there are also, though rather rarely, curved little stools
 [137] (mekriça) from the spathe of the anajá (avarprép), especially among the Krikati
 and Pukóbye. Outdoors one likes to seat oneself on mats, women also using for this
 purpose fire fans (pl. 12, a); and in the woods a bunch of leaves is torn off and

304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Panki, once taking over a huge bury log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.²²

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531 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, a has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rãmkô'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, a.)

Among the Krikati and Pukôbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rãmkô'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pukôbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be insets for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.²³

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171 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rãmkô'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pukôbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahô' and Apã'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.²⁴ Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahô', noted only ears perforated,²⁵ the labret wearers must have been Apã'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Pôrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.²⁶

Among the Rãmkô'kamekra, Apã'nyekra, and Krahô' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

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177 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but somewhat more frequent among the Krikati and Pukôbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

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517 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

²² Nimuendajá, *The Apinayá*, 42.

²³ Krause, in *den Wildnissen Brasiliens*, 224.

²⁴ Spix and Martius, *Reise*, 2:519.

²⁵ Pohl, *Reise*, 2:211.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 2:191.

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302 are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

[413] Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

386 These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is
302 prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally hacked off and barked at home. The juice (ara'mhök) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu¹²² has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.¹²³

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

• 531 The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as
301 the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have
[302] black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hōcwa celebration (p. 63).

302 The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

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[856] The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,

¹²² Fróes Abreu, *Terra das Palmeiras*, 183.

¹²³ Snethlage, *Nordostbras. Ind.*, 149.

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413 there are wooden forks with from two to five times for drawing parallel lines. Further, there are four distinct types of stamps: (1) For dots. For dotted lines
302 the forks or similar implements are used; dots forming stars, rectangles, etc., are
531 stamped with the ends of appropriately carved rods. (2) Round stamps, mainly for star-shaped designs, generally consist of halved palm (especially babassu) nuts and are most commonly used. An ingenious woman utilized her husband's ear disks, which had a Maltese cross in openwork. (3) Stamps for stripes. These usually consist of a plano-convex piece of buriti leafstalk, the level surface being carved with the designs, while the convex side has two excised parts opposite each other which aid the fingers in manipulating the implement. Other stamps of this category are of hardwood and of rectangular section, with a different pattern on each side. Sometimes a grip projects in the direction of the axis on each narrow face of such four-plane stamps. (4) Roller stamps, of cylindrical form with spindle. They may quite possibly be aboriginal, for the racing logs called *pa'rakahã* exhibit the same form.

[881] Notwithstanding the extensive development of body paint, the ornamentation marks social units only in a few cases. Thus, each of the plaza groups paints those of its members graduating from the second phase of initiation with a special pattern at the terminal celebration; and the rainy season moieties are recognizable by their paint. On the other hand, the exogamous moieties, the age classes, and the festive organizations lack distinctive paint, except for the leader and the girl associates of the Jaguar society.

302 *Gluing of down and paty wool.*—Falcon down is glued on the body exclusively for ceremonial decoration (pl. 7, c), being obligatory at a number of solemn procedures, whereas no one ever has himself decorated with feathers for his personal pleasure. At the close of the *ketúaye* and the *pepkahã'k* seclusion all participants
137 are ornamented with falcon down. At other terminal solemnities and outstanding
765 ceremonies it is as a rule the officiating members of the *hamrén* who are thus distinguished. Above all, the *tamhã'k* at their great ceremony during the *pepkahã'k* festival all appear with the falcon-down decoration reserved for their use. Further, at the end of the mourning period for a deceased or absent tribesman, or after prolonged and serious illness, the *hamrén* present themselves in their down ornamentation before the councilors in the plaza; the corpse of the *hamrén* is similarly honored. Whenever the *hamrén* are thus decorated, each cheek bears two small black triangles in close juxtaposition, the pigment being derived from *almecega* resin and pulverized charcoal.

223 The *ketúaye* initiation and the *pepkahã'k* festival require the simultaneous decoration of some thirty persons with falcon down, hence special hunting trips have to be arranged in order to obtain the necessary quantity. The Indians then set the steppe afire, the smoke enticing the falcons, whose down is subsequently stowed away in small, narrow-mouthed gourd vessels, from which it is extricated with a little rod.

82 I know of but a single instance of parrot down as a substitute for that of a falcon. Oddly enough, this happened in the case of a little boy impersonating a young falcon.
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The down is glued on by a *hapín* (p. 102), invariably in the wearer's maternal house, to the chanting of the operator, who receives a present for his labor. The solitary exception occurs at *ketúaye*, the novices being decorated by members of their plaza unit (*menkaça*). Before the operation the subject's hair is always trimmed.

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616 thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza,
881 where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hapín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

616 This decorative paint, *hōkrākro*, consists of a stripe the width of the hand
881 and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the
302 body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extend-



Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

ing on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

616 Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4-5 m. in
881 length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to
243 the plaza and sang there.

This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

[53] Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (*kukakaika'ra* = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, a).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

535 body. Sometimes he skips two or three dancers in the row, then turns back a little toward the left, suddenly turning away from the line in order to dash off in long dancing jumps, nimbly and gracefully forming a semicircle, or it may be even a circle, around the girls. Some performers deliberately kick up the sand with the tips of the feet during this maneuver. The precentor's work is very arduous; he drips with perspiration and, notwithstanding minor intermissions, he is usually quite exhausted at the end of the dance. Sometimes his colleague must take over the last part of the dance. In Ponto there were times when more than fifty girls and women were dancing in a row; then one precentor will not suffice, so two appear simultaneously, one dancing before the right wing, the other before the left, their songs and movements coinciding perfectly.

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534 As noted by Pohl^m and myself, the youths start their activity not at the first song, but as a rule only at the second or third. Almost always they hold some weapon while dancing—a club or arrow or, it may be, nothing more than a stick. Some make special staves for the purpose, tipping them with some sort of tassel. The dancer grasps the club by the butt, not by the handle. Almost always one or two of the dancers brings along a trumpet, which is either held in the hand or suspended on the back by a neck cord. It consists of (a) a bamboo tube blown by a lateral hole and often decorated with pretty twilling in two colors; and (b) a long gourd resonator set at an obtuse angle (padava', *Lagenaria* sp.). (See pl. 27, a.) Sometimes a cow horn cemented to the tube serves as a funnel-shaped resonator, in which case the instrument is called hō'hī. (See pl. 27, b.) It is blown in short, rapid blasts, especially before the dance and during intermissions, the fundamental and then the overtone becoming audible.

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535 The youths, with legs outstretched, gently swing their knees, leaping and dancing in a body toward the girls as long as the precentor dances in front of the female line. But as soon as he turns away to execute his semicircle, the youths likewise retreat up to some thirty meters, leaping and yelling. In the dances held at day-break they always utter a prolonged shout in chorus when starting a new stanza.

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623 The first dance takes place between 3 and 4 A.M. The unmarried mepantúa and the wantons who sleep with them in the plaza are naturally not slow about taking their places, while the girls and young women who sleep in their mothers' homes and the women's husbands lag behind. The council had charged my hapín, Çatú, with the duty of tending to the requisite quorum of participants. Accordingly, as soon as the dance had begun he would go from house to house around the boulevard, rousing the truants and sending them to the plaza. He was particularly eager to have me accompany him on this circuit, hence woke me up before the rest, quite contrary at times to my convenience.

Toward 5 A.M. the chanting always grows extraordinarily wild and passionate. Anyone wishing to get a clear picture of Timbira dances ought to watch them at that time of day. Half an hour later the singing abruptly ceases. The precentor plants his rattle in the ground by its tip, turns about, and goes home, whereupon the dancers of both sexes withdraw and hurry off to bathe in the creek. Their place is then jointly taken by the chiefs and elders, who for the most part have already made their appearance to attend the close of the performance.

The second dance is held a little before sunset, whence its name, pŭtkammekre, and consists of only five songs. The number of participants is less than at the other dances. At this time the councilors are assembled for the second deliberation of the day. Certain minor ceremonies are customary on this occasion, such as the tasting of cultivated fruits, the presentation of persons discharged from seclusion, etc.

^m Pohl, Reise, 2:206.

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526 terminal incline. At the closing ketúaye ceremony the biggest of the graduating
522 novices lent them a hand. In the other cases several of the men, after delivering
their own logs, turned back to help the women. In 1933 or thereabouts a certain
Yarpót, then seventeen years of age and wedded to the champion racer of the re-
cently initiated age class, ranked as the best of the female runners. Women who
have borne children no longer actively participate in the log races.

Only the opening race of the meipimrã'k season takes place in the fashion men-
tioned above, with large but bilaterally hollowed buryty logs. Otherwise the racers
of this period use gradually enlarged logs, as noted.

527 In addition to the races hitherto described, which belong in the category of
531 athletic sports, there are others of symbolie character, executed like those of the
opening of the meipimrã'k period with logs too light for a test of athletic prowess.
Accordingly, they are rather simple relay races with symbolical miniature logs.

This holds in even greater measure of the parare (sacral logs of the souls of the
dead), which weigh only about 245 gr. apiece and are used by the plaza moieties
at the close of each initiation phase.

Small parare, only 2-5 cm. long, serve as ornaments, being suspended in pairs
or bundles from necklaces and sashes (pl. 35, d). Nowadays, at least, the Indians
attach no interpretation to such decoration. Several times I have seen noteworthy
parare resembling the little girls' dolls in being characterized as male or female by
wax breasts, girdles and hip cords.

417 Given the predilection of the Timbira for these races, old logs are seen lying
about in great numbers everywhere in their villages. Anyone may appropriate these
and use them at his pleasure. One sees them inside and in front of the houses, as a
rule unsplit, rarely bisected, serving as settees along the walls. People like to use
them as a barrier to the freely roaming domestic pigs, either by laying one trans-
versely before the threshold or putting them square-fashion round young fruit
trees and other plants to be protected near the houses. Sometimes the graves to the
rear of the houses and even in the cemetery are fenced in this manner. The fibrous,
sappy palm wood rapidly dries out, whereupon the old logs are chopped up for fuel.

526 As stated, log races seem to be the national sport of all Timbira tribes. I have
171 witnessed them among the Ramkô'kamekra, the Apinayé, and the Krahô'; and
seen logs of the type in Apa'nyekra, Krikatí, Pukóbye, and Kre'pu'mkateye villages.
Among the Timbira of Araparytúa (middle Gurupy) I learned that the sport
was still in vogue in 1913. In 1931 a punitive expedition to the wild Gaviões dis-
covered two wide, straight roads, probably race tracks, and a rattle girdle with
tapir hoofs such as is worn by the Canella çü'kate (p. 139). According to the hand-
ful of Ča'kamekra survivors, log racing formerly played the same role as among
the Ramkô'kamekra. Of the now likewise extinct "Poraeramaerans" (Pörekame-
kra) Pohl reports a log dance, which unfortunately he did not himself witness,
for which a special circle had been formed in the plaza:

Bey diesem Tanze bedienen sie sich bey dritthalb Ellen langer, anderthalb Schuhe im Durchmesser
haltender, 4-6 Arroben schwerer Klötze [which Pohl obviously saw] welche auf den Schultern
getragen und von den Tänzern einander zugeworfen werden.²²

To hurl and catch logs weighing 87 kg. while dancing is presumably not quite so
simple as Pohl seems to have been made to believe.

The only Timbira groups for whom I have discovered no evidence of log races are
the inconsiderable remnants of the Krëyé of Cajnapára and of the Kukókamekra
and Krëyé of Bacabal, whom I have never visited in their villages. However, the

²² Pohl, 2:205.

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796 Properly the commandant-in-chief ought to punish incontinence, but such disciplinary action was rare and, in general, Kopkré's choice for this important office proved rather unfortunate. Contrary to ancient custom, a fair number of pepyé were already married, and these often sneaked off to their wives instead of spending the night in their cells. Anciently, transgressors with wanton women would have been forced to eat large doses of pepper; and the Apa'nyekra seated the guilty couple publicly in the plaza, which was reckoned a disgrace. In 1933 the commandant could not strictly enforce the rule because he himself was an offender; one night I myself caught not indeed his wife, but a wanton slipping into his cell. The deputy was far more scrupulous; during the entire period of segregation he slunk off only on two or three nights to caress an infant daughter in his young wife's house.

881 At intervals of several days the pepyé secretly met at night in the courtyard of the deputy or, at times, of the commandant—usually because of some gross breach of the rules. The penalty, if inflicted, consisted of flogging by the errand boys acting under the deputy's orders after a secret agreement between him and the commandant. The errand boys accordingly always appear in public with their rods, which are about 1.30 m. long, very thin, and flexible. At the meetings both the commandant and his deputy uttered lengthy admonitions and tirades mainly bearing on the rules of seclusion and marriage. Maintenance of the former insures a successful internment, that is, one by which the pepyé rapidly acquire, in native belief, the strength of men, being enabled to pit themselves in sport against the next older class—a matter of honor. The marriage regulations loom large, because formerly most of the pepyé married soon after the festival and moved into the houses of their mothers-in-law. In matrimony, too, the Indians' supreme rule is to avoid quarrels, let alone brawls, which were expressly branded as setting a bad example for the children, who are to be educated in the traditional mores. A spouse's industry is represented as prerequisite to a happy union, but the harangues also refer to the faults of some girls, such as frivolity, laziness, and mendacity. Further, the lectures extend to the proper behavior toward kin, especially toward the wife's relatives, to the formalized friendship bonds, and to the prerogatives of elders, who are always to be treated with reverence. Thievery and lying are denounced.

183 Actual conduct, it must be admitted, more or less deviates from the ideals preached, nevertheless the reality of the standards is certain; and to judge from the spontaneous remarks made to me by various pepyé, at least under the influence of the ceremonial setting, many of the youths took them very seriously.

881 The commandant is responsible to the council for the demeanor and prosperity of his pepyé, being blamed if the young men fall short of the standards, physical and moral, at the close of their initiation.

881 Between 3 A.M. and 10 P.M. the catcher makes about five daily circuits through all the houses of internment. He carries a thick, heavy cane, 1.65 m. in length, not club-fashion under his arm, but so as to lean on it in walking. In the daytime he takes his stand before the cell, at night before the door of the house of retreat, facing the plaza, and remains silent for one or two minutes, both hands laid on the upper end of his cane. Then, rocking his body to and fro, he loudly utters his "hinkō" cry, "hō! hō-ō!" At the last "ō!" he stamps with his right foot, waits immobile for another minute, and then passes on to the next house.

881 Besides the scratchers (pl. 35, b), shared with all other persons who for some reason have to go into a ceremonial retreat, the pepyé have two objects peculiar to their seclusion and made only during this period.

531 Their club (koppo) is a narrow board, 4-6 cm. wide and 60-112 cm. long, with the

lower end pointed on the sword-club pattern; the upper end, which is sometimes decorated with openwork over a span in length and often very prettily, terminates in comblike tines 4-6 cm. long (pl. 36). A soft sound is produced by moistening the skin on the inside of the upper arm with the tongue and stroking it back and forth with the tines. This sound is the signal by which the pepyé identify themselves on mutual visits at night.

A second object often found in the hands of pepyé, but otherwise only rarely (as a children's toy); is the bull-roarer (*pikwék*) (pl. 35, e). After nightfall and before daybreak the class leader should swing the instrument, the alarm being passed on from cell to cell to make sure that its inmate has not fallen asleep, in which case the commandant would punish him. This was the subsequent statement of the commandant who had functioned in 1933, but during that festival the signal was certainly not given with regularity, but at best now and then. As a participant I only occasionally heard the booming sound for a few moments and did not learn its meaning until later. Once I overheard the following dialogue between two pepyé, which the commandant's explanation elucidates: "Did you hear my bull-roarer this noon?" "Yes!" "I thought you were asleep."

That the bull-roarer was part of the insignia peculiar to pepyé is indicated by the term *pepyetokárċ* in the speech of the Čă'kamekra, nowadays extinct as a separate tribe, whose specimens were considerably larger and of more careful make than their present Rămkô'kamekra equivalents. It seems clear that the comparative insignificance of the bull-roarer at initiation does not represent its original role.

A pepyé in retreat carefully extends the lobes of his ears to fit them for the ear-plugs (*kúii*) (see pl. 4, a-c). From time to time the youths widen this part of the ear, which is developed into a loop of skin, by inserting both their forefingers and then twisting the loop; at intervals of a few days the plugs are superseded by new and somewhat bigger ones.

The deputy daily notched a four-edged stick (*amkrópupunċ*, day counter) to keep tally of the days elapsed since the capture of the pepyé (pl. 35, g).

The pepyé passed the time with various diversions: one of them constructed a ventilator wheel, another carved a model of the type of motorboat plying on the Mearim, still others plaited little baskets, bags or mats of *anajá* grass, which they used in their subsequent parades and camps.

Sometimes when the village lacked meat, the pepyé furtively marched into the steppe to hunt. On one trip they stole a neighboring farmer's ox; the council by no means sanctioned this procedure, but had the errand boys bring the two chief malefactors to the plaza and gave them a terrific reprimand, so that they stood there quite abashed, notwithstanding the supercilious bearing at first assumed by one of the culprits. At night, before all their fellow novices, the two commandants once more subjected them to prolix harangues and reprimands.

Thus the weeks passed. In the meantime the wakô'kama, being the youngest of the eastern classes and hence the novices' opponents, gathered daily in the western *vũ'te*'s house and arranged many log races with the next older *pôh'kama* class camped on the west side. These latter, using the eastern *vũ'te*' house as their lodge, belong to the same team league as the pepyé of 1933, whose subsequent position would also be on the west side of the plaza, to the north of their predecessors on that side.

Inspection of new leaders.—About 4:30 P.M. on May 23, the *pôh'kama* and *wakô'kama* classes (western and eastern, respectively) began to dance jointly in the plaza, while the *hapin* and *pinċwċ'i* of the eastern leader of the pepyé assembled

farther on he remarks, "Die Sprache erschöpfte sich in gewissen Bewegungen des Nasenspaltes." Why not "Mundspaltes" if such a one were present?

He assumes erroneously, and not on the basis of any statement of mine, that the costumes I collected were derived from a later age-class festival ("einem späteren Altersklassenfest"). As a matter of fact, *kökrj't* costumes are in no way connected with age classes.

"Andere Masken hatten statt der beiden seitlichen Holzstangen, den sogenannten Hörnern, einen blitzartig gebogenen Draht in der Mitte." The author orally reaffirmed this observation in answer to a query of mine. The Indians themselves told me they were not familiar with any such appendage. I can merely suppose by way of explanation that the clown of the organization, whose mask lacks horns, jocularly substituted the wire.

Snethlage explains the differences between his observations and my own by assuming an actual change in the form of costume during the interval between our respective visits (1924, 1929). This seems highly improbable. In the first place, even if aboriginal conservatism had lightly permitted such alterations, the fact remains that during the period in question there had been no Mummies' festival at which a modification could have been decreed. Secondly, the Mummies vehemently declared that the costumes were always made in the same manner, in consonance with ancient tradition.

The illustration in Snethlage's paper (Nordostbras. Ind.) suggests to me that at least in part the author put his observations in writing when he was no longer able to observe the masquerading directly; in consequence, I assume that he was probably no longer able to recall all the details with precision.

I have seen *kökrj't* outfits also among the *Pukóbye*, the *Krahô'*, and the *Timbira* of *Araparytina*.

On entering the *Pukóbye* (Gaviões) village of São Feliz (upper Pindaré) in

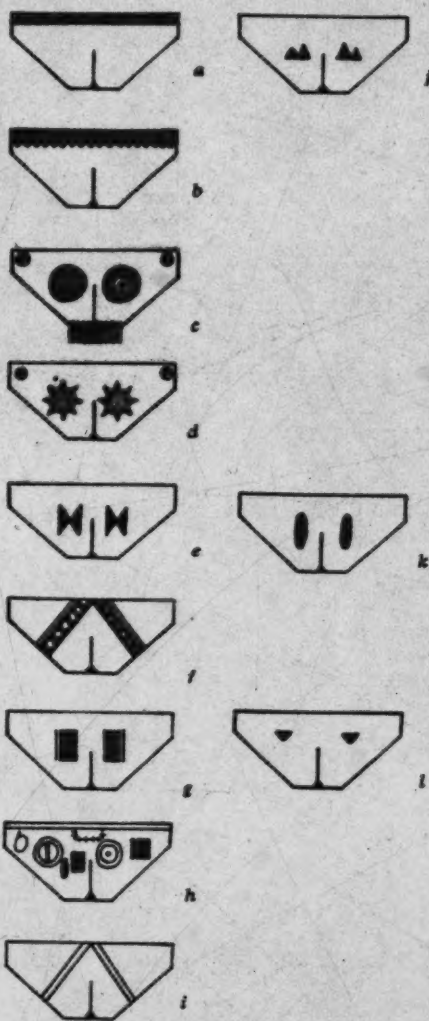


Fig. 15. Decoration of masquerade costumes. a-i, *Ramkô'kamekra*: *kenpéy*, *kráti*, *tókairéu*, *espóra*, *tephothô'*, *háká*, *tehokpó*, *ihókê'n* = clown, *mekratamtúá* *tobók*. j-i, foreign: *kenpey-kahák*; *tephothô-kahák*, *tahokpó-kahák*.

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[53]

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Estevão six hundred meters from the village, where they jointly bathe. Thereupon each organization assembles separately at its own fireplace, some two hundred meters back of the bathing hole (fig. 16). The Jaguars and Mummies are the first to leave for the village, trotting along and yelling. In the village the Jaguars enter their lodge in order to decorate themselves with black paint, while the Mummies take their stand around the edge of the plaza. Immediately thereafter the Agoutis come running toward the plaza, where they begin by circling around in a hop step. Then they take a stand facing the Jaguars' lodge, put their hands against their knees, and yell.

There follows the Little Falcon's performance, which also marks the terminal ceremony of the *vũ'te'* season (p. 166). The Little Falcon always appears exclusively in conjunction with the Agoutis and Jaguars, the former having for their essential function that of teasing the latter, who try to catch their tormentors.

The Little Falcon's office is matrilineally inherited. In 1930 the incumbent was so small that he came in straddling the neck of his hapnapey, who vicariously performed all the appropriate ceremonies for him, the boy's mother walking alongside of her son, whose body had falcon down stuck on it.

After the procession of Agoutis and Jaguars and the posturing of the former as described above, the Agoutis face west. One of them, stooping, runs to the house of the western *vũ'te'*—the meeting place of the Jaguars—and thence fetches the Little Falcon, who takes his stand in the center of the plaza. Then he squats on his heels, raising his right arm as though it were a wing, inserting a whistle between his lips, and with it imitating the falcon's call while the Agoutis dance in a circle around him. Thereupon the Agoutis bring the Little Falcon back to the Jaguars' lodge, whence they return racing toward the plaza. The Little Falcon, however, goes to the eastern *vũ'te'* house, the Agoutis' lodge. As soon as he has disappeared there, the Agoutis utter their cry, to which the Little Falcon responds by whistling.

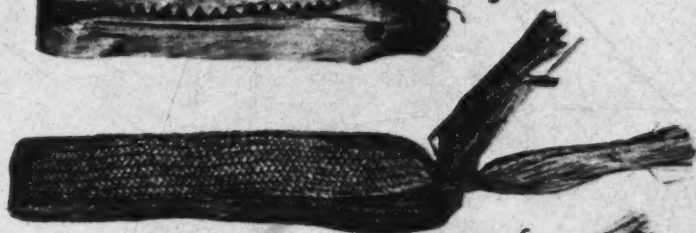
Suddenly one of the Agoutis dashes at a dead run toward the Jaguars' lodge, whence he brings the Little Falcon, who trots whistling toward the plaza, squatting down in its center and spreading one arm wing-fashion, while the yelling Agoutis surround him. Then he runs back whistling toward the Jaguars' lodge, whose members receive him with a patter of feet. While the Agoutis swarm about the plaza shouting, the Jaguars come up in a trot and take up positions in the arc of a circle near the margin of the plaza. Their leader, the Black Jaguar, stands in front, their girl associates behind. The Jaguars assume a crouching posture, with their clenched fists extended forward beside each other, the back of the hands facing up. Suddenly the Black Jaguar raises his fists and indicates one of the roving Agoutis, against whom he advances with his fellows, trying to surround, catch, and throw him down. The menaced Agouti seeks safety either in some house or behind one of the Mummies scattered about the periphery of the plaza. This catching game is repeated with one after another of the Agoutis present; only the girl associates and members who happen to belong also to the hamrén enjoy immunity. These, standing abreast in the center of the plaza and facing the Jaguars during the play, remain unmolested. At last the Jaguars retire to their lodge, whence they disperse. The Mummies then go to work in their shed, and the Agoutis make their exit.

[531]
Mummies' entrance.—As soon as the masks are done except for the painted decoration, the Mummies decorate their bodies with black rubber pigment and hair bands, thus announcing to the villagers the impending entrance of the masqueraders. The next morning, having secured the requisite almecega rosin, the members paint their masks red and black—a task usually completed by noon (pl. 37, b).

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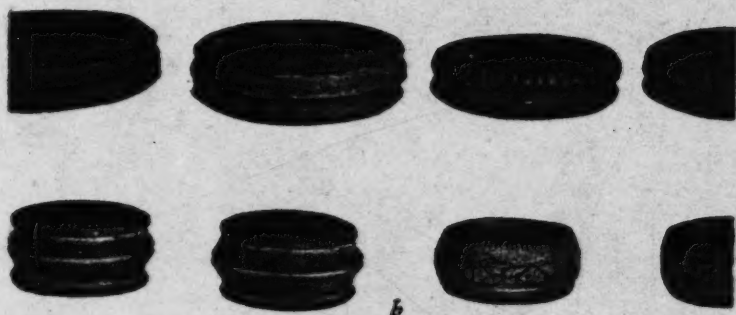
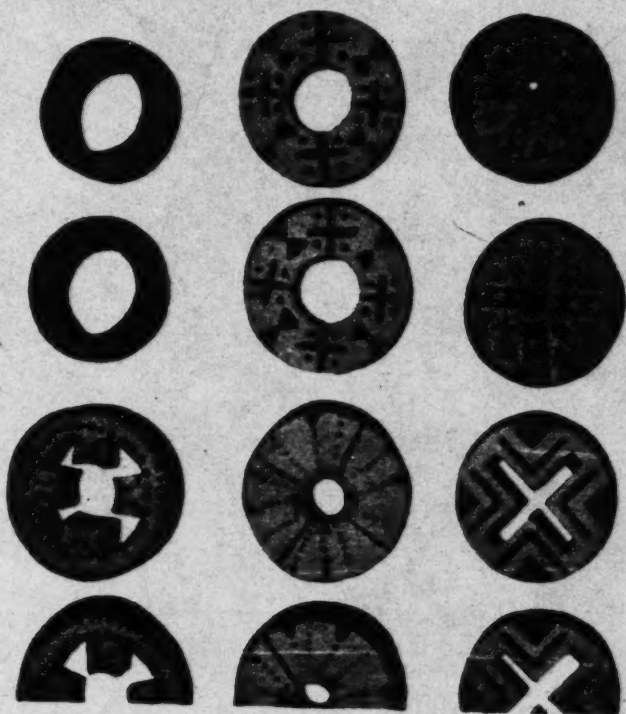
FOREHEAD BANDS

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SASHES; WRISTLETS

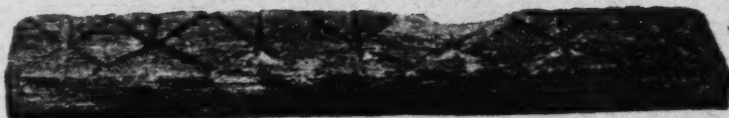
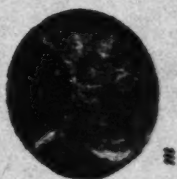
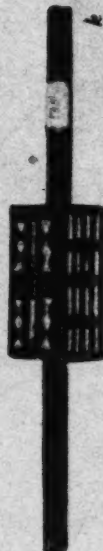
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EARPLUGS; WHISTLETS

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(NIMUENDAJÓ) PLATE



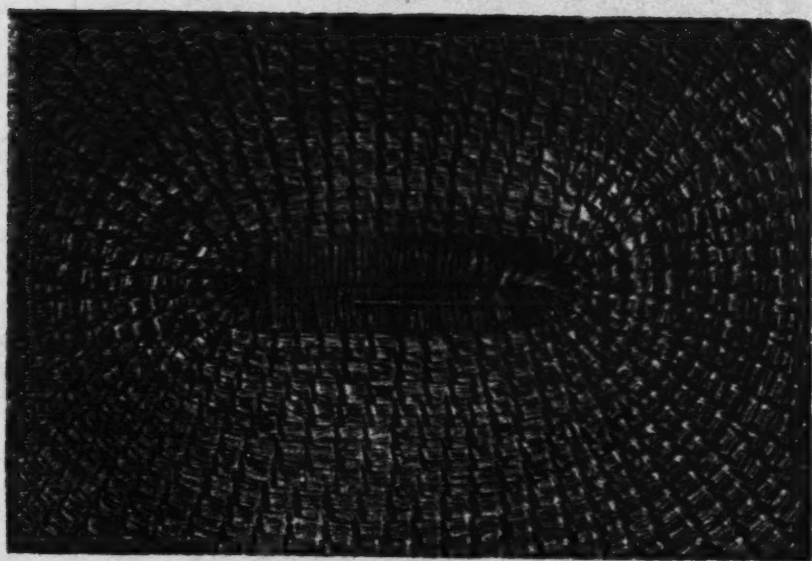
PAINING OUTFIT

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b



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COILED BASKETRY

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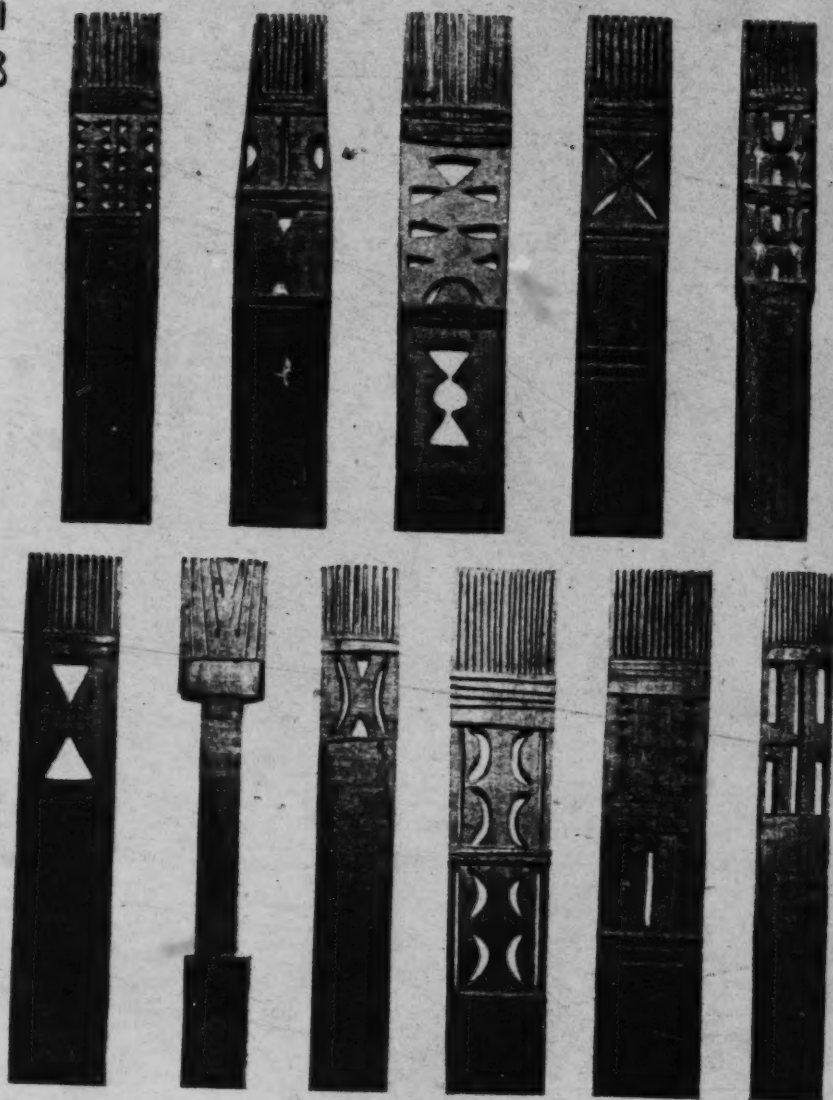
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TRUMPETS

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CARVED CLUB HANDLES OF PEPTÉ

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[824] No. 3. Container (marimba) made out of the fruit shell of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

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[824] No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal

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1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Völkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
[386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-
dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here. /

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No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386

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No. 8. Dye sample (py), urucú kneaded together with clay. Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

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No. 9. Swinging sticks (klôwa) with vulture-feather decoration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief, which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to